

6 and become typical, positively ensures disaffection of the Southern holders of power, and exhaustion of the North. And if New Orleans, or Mobile or Charleston revolt again after being conquered, be sure that your enemies in the English & French cabinet will know that their hour is come. The revolted ports will be occupied by English & French fleets, before we hear of any such scheme. Your Free States, after the prodigious strain of this war, will collapse into comparative apathy. We shall be too much disgusted with your folly to have any pity at your falling in pieces. Until recently, I have looked on your war with serene satisfaction, as a sublime sacrifice for a magnificent future, glorious to you, beneficial to our millions. I have indulged in glowing anticipations, in which I seemed to friends but a wild dreamer. Since I have learned that your President has sanctioned Gen. Banks' ordinances, I begin to fear that I have indeed been a dreamer, and that your enemies here are substantially correct; one of whom said to me, three years ago: "The North hates slavery; but it hates colored men still more; and it will rather break up the Union, than endure to admit them into real equality." A time of war & revolution decides the great principles on which future weal or woe depends. New moral principles are needed, not slave-owners' base notions, or you are lost. A purer morality must be enunciated by your Chief Magistrate, & sternly applied, before you can purge your civil & military administration of virtual traitors. Every one in Europe who has any political thought knows, that your Union can have no future, unless your stupid & base legislating about the color of a man's skin be now, once for all, extirpated and renounced. In a great revolution, you must strike while the iron is hot, and strike hard; caring entirely for principles, and not at all for persons. If you delay but a little more; if you let the next Presidential elections pass, without sternly enforcing on the candidates a total abandonment of your cardinal & ruinous national insanity, - prejudice against color; ~~&~~ your national future may be lost for ever. I am, Dear Sir, Yours with high respect and esteem, Francis W. Newman.



which had not rebelled. I am now pierced in heart to discover, that, however envenomed in the phrase, it was no slander at all, but a terrible truth.

The Procl<sup>m</sup> did not say, that, on Jan<sup>1</sup><sup>st</sup>, 1863, "the slaves of all the States which have rebelled shall be free"; but, the slaves of States which shall be "then in rebellion"; and since, on that day, the hand of the North was so heavy on Western Tennessee & New Orleans that they could not rebel, (though they would have rebelled in five minutes, had your armies been withdrawn,) your President kept his word to the letter by excepting many hundred thousand persons from freedom. Butler, Chase, Fremont, Sumner, Andrew, — any Northern abolitionist, — any ordinary Englishman, — in the Presidential Chair, would have interpreted his right to neglect Southern institutions as depending, 1. on the States having thrown off allegiance; 2. on the immorality & injustice of certain laws; 3. on their inconsistency with Republicanism, which Congress is bound to maintain; 4. on the necessity of providing against future rebellion by a high-handed removal of that which has caused the present rebellion. But Mr Lincoln puts a Southern interpretation on your Constitution, which is to you a great & threatening calamity. He seems to believe that he has sworn to support slavery for the rebels, & that his oath can only be relaxed in the crisis when your ship of state is foundering. He demands disaster, slaughter, visible impending ruin, as an inevitable condition, before he is allowed to free a slave. You must pay in blood of white men for freedom of black; and the more honest he is, the worse for you. It is now cruelly manifest, that your heroes of Pittsburgh Landing & Fort Donelson were too brave. If they had been driven back with ignominy, — and much more certainly, if they had been massacred in heaps, — a second year's war would have brought freedom to Tennessee. But, alas for the good cause! you conquered in the first campaign; you struck firm in the conquest; you did not fulfil the requisite condition of humiliating disasters; hence your arms, instead of striking off fetters from the slave, are become the



sional, and we habitually accept their interpretation from others. Leading articles of newspapers interpreted <sup>the Procl<sup>n</sup></sup> ~~it~~ for us, or rather misinterpreted it. I have but lately come to understand it aright, reading <sup>it</sup> as explained by facts. My new perceptions are truly painful, and very unwelcome.

In the dinner given at Boston to Mr. Roudanez & Captain Bertonneau, coloured delegates from Louisiana, I read that you <sup>said</sup> ~~wrote~~ (not, I believe, for the first time) that the President has pledged himself for the freedom of "the three million slaves of the rebel States." That was the sense in which we popularly understood the Procl<sup>n</sup>. When any (in true or feigned zeal for freedom) cried out: "Why does not the President free the slaves of Kentucky?" we had the ready answer: "The Supreme Court will overrule him, if he attempt it; his legal powers do not reach so far." But we believed ~~that~~ that a free Tennessee would soon ensure a free Kentucky. We were under the delusion, that Tennessee & Louisiana would forthwith be made Free States. I believe they together contain above a million and a quarter slaves. This is a horribly large deduction from your three millions; but the principles which have detained <sup>them</sup> in slavery would be equally alarming, if only <sup>thirteen</sup> 13 thousand instead of 13 hundred thousand were here involved.

A friend of mine (an M. P.) told me ~~that~~ that an eminent person, whom I may not name, in conversation with him, called Mr Lincoln's Procl<sup>n</sup>, when we were beginning to glorify it, "a villainous hypocrisy; for he refused to set free those whom he could, while pretending to set free those whom he could not." I need not tell you, that a bitter desire to see your proud Union broken to <sup>pieces</sup> ~~bits~~ animated that utterance; but I was surprised ~~that~~ that a statesman with a name to lose should commit himself to (what I deemed) an ignorant, vulgar slander; for I thought the reproach to be directed only against the slavery still endured in the States



To W<sup>m</sup> Lloyd Garrison,  
Apostle of Negro Freedom.

10 Circus Road, London N.W.

Dear Sir - 99

June 7<sup>th</sup> 1864.

Your name is revered by all here, who know & care for the moral struggles of your nation and the prospects of human justice. I write to you by way of honor and with great cordiality, though also for expostulation; having no other objects than those sacred interests, Truth & Right, to which you have devoted your life, with sacrifices such as it has not been my privilege to make.

You have hitherto been strong by fixing your eyes on absolute right, and disdaining any compromise, such as serfdom in place of slavery would be. This may have made you (for aught I know) treasonable or factious; it may have embarrassed and temporarily weakened good men, who were attempting half measures when whole measures were impossible. But it has given to your word immense moral weight in certain directions; nay, and weight even to your silence. If it can be said: "Garrison does not reprove General Banks's measures," it will be inferred that they do full justice to the colored race. A great responsibility now rests on you to use this power aright.

From the day that I knew Garrison & Wendell Phillips to have become Unionists and supporters of the war, I believed it to be a glorious & fruitful war of freedom. The English people at large were not able to calculate or understand the advantage which the cause of freedom would assuredly have gained, if the rebels had been terrified at your firm front, and <sup>had</sup> returned to the Union without war; humiliated, but on their old footing. Hence, while hostile to the wicked South, we were cold to the North, until Mr Lincoln's Proclam<sup>n</sup> of Sept<sup>r</sup> 1862, <sup>emboldened</sup> aroused us. Legal documents are always harsh & obscure to the unprofess-